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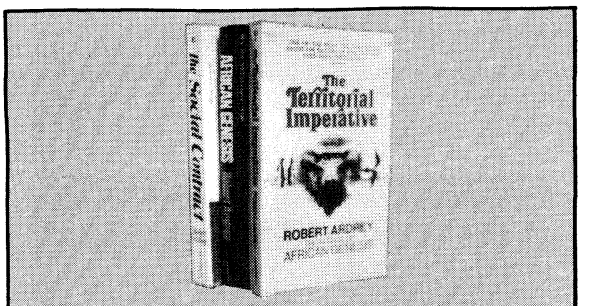
AFRICAN GENESIS
THE TERRITORIAL IMPERATIVE
THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

By Robert Ardrey



Genesis (384 pages) / **LR Price $1.50**
Territorial (390 pages) / **LR Price $1.50**
Social Contract (450 pages) / **LR Price $1.75**

REVIEWED BY STANLEY LIEBERMAN

The theme throughout Robert Ardrey's three books is the same. Man is by nature aggressive and territorial. He has instincts that drive him to war and destruction. He has, as part of his genetic endowment, a natural inclination for violence.

The origin of this aggressive instinct is described in *African Genesis*. The argument is based on the fossil remains of Australopithecus. Since tools have been found with the remains, these early men were hunters, that is, they were aggressive and were killers. Ardrey contends that early man's dependence on hunting as placed emphasis on aggressive drives. Over the time span of man's evolutionary history, those individuals that were more aggressive survived; those that lacked the proper level of aggression did not; and aggression slowly became part of man's nature—innate, unalterable, and unopposable.

In *The Territorial Imperative*, Ardrey discusses the other of man's major instincts, territoriality. For Ardrey, this is man's most fundamental instinct. Man's behavior with respect to this instinct is no different than the instinct-directed behavior of such animals as the lowly planarian worm, the digger wasp, the roe deer, and every primate but the gorilla. Ardrey concludes that "the territorial nature of man is genetic and ineradicable."

The theme in the last volume of the trilogy is the same. Man is aggressive and territorial because by no other means could he have survived. "For certainly two million years we were continually dependent on the weapon in the hand to make possible the survival of a terrestrial primate so ill-armed by nature. Without the invention of the weapon, we could not exist."

Ardrey points out that our greatest and possibly fatal mistake was the recent development of farming and animal husbandry. This may be the reason men kill each other. "Until five thousand years ago there was no other way to survive. And if it was only then that organized warfare became a significant human entertainment, perhaps we may understand it as a substitute for the lost hunting way."

The "lost hunting way" is also the basis for all the other troubles that plague us. "Not only murder but riot, assault, vandalism, destruction of property may be seen as violent actions satisfying an appetite without which at one time we could not have survived, but for which little socially acceptable nourishment exists today."

This is the essence of Ardrey's writings. If Ardrey is correct, he provides no basis—in any manner—for libertarianism. If man's nature is as described, a libertarian society would be impossible. In fact, the only type of workable society may be a dictatorship where man's aggressive drives are regulated by strong external controls.

However, Ardrey is *not* correct:

(1) Labeling any behavior as instinctive fails to explain its causes. Aggressive behavior exists in many diverse species, and is caused by many things. In insects, such behavior may be triggered by trace chemicals; in birds, by territorial defense, but only during the breeding season; in carnivores, by prey, but only if certain internal conditions are present; in apes, by a predator, but only if escape routes are not available and the troop is considered in danger; in man, by a mere verbal slur, but only if attack is an appropriate response in the individual's culture, and only if the individual's experience indicates that attack would be appropriate to the specific circumstances. If the murderous raids of the Brazilian Indians are explained in terms of instincts, how is the peacefulness of the Eskimos to be explained? True, man displays aggressive behavior. However, this does not imply an aggressive instinct. It implies the *capacity* for such behavior. Man also has the capacity for tenderness and love. Man's aggressive behavior is learned and is based on his beliefs and principles. Since

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REVIEWED BY ROBERT MASTERS

Robert Ardrey is one of the pioneers of new "biological perspective" now emerging in the social sciences. This approach—in opposition to cultural relativism in anthropology, environmentalism in sociology, and behaviorism in psychology—holds that man's consciousness has a specific, biologically determined nature. Consciousness, like the body, has definite needs, and strives to actualize itself by growing toward a definite, genetically programmed form.

According to this view, man is not socially "malleable." Society can provide man with knowledge, thus helping him to actualize his genetic potential. But it cannot "remold" or "condition" his psychology into the arbitrary forms required by utopian or rationalistic ideals. The hope that such remolding could be accomplished, Ardrey states, has been responsible for many of the absurdities and horrors of the last two centuries.

How does one discover the particular nature and needs of human consciousness? One way of approaching this question—a way that is central to the biological perspective—is to view man as an animal, as one species in the stream of evolution. This is the theme Ardrey develops in rich detail in his three books. He shows that there are definite continuities between man and other animals, continuities of body and behavior. Therefore, studying man's phylogenetic relatives and ancestors gives one major insights into man himself.

Perhaps the clearest way of expressing Ardrey's perspective is simply to say that *it makes a difference* that man evolved from a particular kind of ape. If man's ancestors had been rabbits or lions or, for that matter, insects, man would be a significantly different creature. His physiological and neurological "wiring"—and thus his emotions and psychology—would be adapted to a different kind of life. Therefore his societies and the problems facing them would be different. A being descended from rabbits, no matter how intelligent—and no matter how it was conditoned—could hardly become a warrior; one descended from lions would have great difficulty becoming a housewife.

The prevailing view is that, even though man's body is shaped by genetic and evolutionary forces, his psychology is not. By showing that this dichotomy is impossible, Ardrey and theorists like him are destroying the last major stronghold of the Christian mind-body split. They are completing the assault, which Darwin began a century ago, on the concept of man as a "specially created" being, separate and aloof from the animal kingdom.

The cultural/environmentalist/behaviorist establishment has, of course, fought back. The attacks on Ardrey have taken three main forms:

(1) His specific factual claims have been subjected to wide-ranging criticism. These issues obviously cannot be dealt with adequately in a brief review. Suffice it to say that, while Ardrey's works are hardly free of errors, his basic theses have held up pretty well. In particular, his contention that hunting was the decisive formative influence giving rise to man—an idea that was considered crackpot when published in *African Genesis*—has now been accepted by many of the leading authorities in the field.

(2) Ardrey is often denounced as an advocate of fatalism. Since our genes are adapted to hunting and violent killing, he supposedly maintains, there is nothing we can do about the problem of violence. *His position is actually the exact opposite.* His point is that only through *learning* about our nature, including its less pleasant aspects, can we devise ways of dealing with it. The theorist who denies our genetic predisposition to violence, he argues, is like someone who insists that nitroglycerine is not dangerous and that no precautions are necessary when handling it. (The results of such wishful thinking, Ardrey states, are all around us.)

(3) On the *fundamental* issue—the methodological one—the culturalists

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Lieberman— *(Continued from page 1)*

man's ideology has largely been based on a disregard for human rights, is it any surprise that he acts aggressively?

(2) The development of a weapon two million years ago could not have played a major role in insuring man's survival, since man's ancestral line goes back closer to thirty-five million years. Throughout most of this time, man had no tools and no weapons to help him.

(3) There is no evidence that early man's principle food was obtained by hunting. In fact, the majority of his diet was composed of fruits, nuts, tubers, grubs, and rodents.

(4) Of all the primates, only the gibbon can be considered territorial. Furthermore, most behavior for apes is learned, since different populations, living in different areas, display different behaviors. A possible display of territoriality in one habitat is not present in another.

(5) No evidence of territoriality exists today among hunting peoples still living, for example, the Bushman, the Pygmy, and the Eskimo.

(6) Why do governments find it necessary to pass laws against immigration and treason and for a draft? If aggression and territoriality are instinctive, we would love our country and fight at the slightest provocation, real or imagined.

To accept Ardrey, is to blame biology for our destructive acts. Just as society is not responsible, neither are our genes. We must accept the responsibility for our actions. What we do, we choose to do.•

Masters— *(Continued from page 1)*

have not put up much real argument at all. They indicate they consider the biological perspective misleading or useless but they do not seem to have much conviction about this. Often they flatly contradict their own premises by using Ardrey's methodology in trying to refute him, as when they attempt to show that man's ancestors were not in fact violently disposed and that therefore man is not. This tactic puts them in the position of saying, in effect, "Man has no instinct—and besides, all his instincts are peaceable"! To be consistent, culturalists would have to hold that it makes *no difference at all* whether we are descended from killer apes—that this has no relevance whatever to man as he is today. Understandably, few of them have been willing to commit themselves to that position.

Ardrey's writings are not without problems—such as his penchant for dramatic overstatement and sweeping but dubious analogies. But—as Nathaniel Branden recently observed in a different context—the first generation of any school of thought inevitably tends toward oversimplification. That the biological perspective is capable of balanced, rigorous, and fruitful development has been demonstrated by thinkers as varied as Steven Goldberg, Lionel Tiger, Robin Fox and John E. Pfeiffer.

Ardrey's three books are stylistically brilliant, filled with information, and downright fun to read. In my opinion, they remain the best introduction to the New Darwinian Revolution.•

HERBERT SPENCER
STRUCTURE, FUNCTION AND EVOLUTION
Edited by S. Andreski

HERBERT SPENCER: THE EVOLUTION OF A SOCIOLOGIST
By J. D. Y. Peel

Herbert Spencer was a great and protean thinker, a self-taught genius who ranged over and systematically integrated vast realms of human thought: philosophy, politics, sociology, biology, and the other natural sciences. He was also one of the great libertarians in the history of thought, and his first, splendid work, *Social Statics* (1850) is *still* the best systematic exposition of libertarianism ever written. [Ed. note: *Social Statics* is available from *LR*. See Back List.] Despite a few flaws, it stands today as a landmark, an inspiration, and a fountainhead of libertarian ideas. It was Spencer who coined the great libertarian "law of equal liberty," and Spencer who penetratingly developed the vital contrast between "industrial" and "militant" (militarist) principles. Spencer's seemingly naive optimism, his belief in the inevitable progress of mankind (in his early years) was undoubtedly overdrawn, but it rested on a sound insight that the free-market economy and the libertarian society were indispensable for the successful workings of an industrial world. Hence Spencer's belief that, since society *had been* progressing in the direction of freedom and industrialization, it would continue to do so. Perhaps his optimism was only premature by a century or so.

Spencer, in short, more than any other figure, was "our Marx." At the height of his career, in the middle and late nineteenth century, Spencer was acknowledged to be the greatest intellectual figure of his age, read and hailed widely by scientists, intellectuals, and the general public alike. His acclaim was fostered by his exceptionally lucid and logical writing style, which was free of the jargon and the obscurantism that have won all too many adherents among professionals in various disciplines of social science.

Yet, in the later decades of his life, Spencer's optimism turned understandably to bitter gloom, as the trends of thought and political reality moved inexorably from liberty and laissez faire to various forms of collectivism, forms which Spencer rightly castigated as the "New Toryism." By the 1930s, Spencer had been so thoroughly and devastatingly tossed aside by everyone that the historian Crane Brinton could write his famous, vicious gibe: "Who now reads Spencer?"

There were two basic reasons for the cruel neglect of Spencer's mighty achievement. One was that his methodology was entirely out of intellectual fashion. Rather than the later ritual of confining oneself to a narrow subfield in a particular discipline of philosophy or social science, Spencer dared to range over all of human thought and integrate the whole into a systematic, consistent philosophy and scientific system. Nothing could rouse more contempt from the professional social scientists of this century. Furthermore, Spencer dared to believe in natural law and natural rights, perhaps even more unfashionable in the rush toward positivism and historicism. Marx, too, was neglected by the fashionable mandarins of philosophy and social science, but Marx had working for him his collectivist ideology, which won him at least a flourishing underground of disciples who were able to "make history" in a large part of the world. But Spencer dared to be a thoroughgoing, "extreme," and consistent laissez faire libertarian, and thus the neglect was compounded by his "exile" for so much of this century in the ideological and political wastelands.

But now interest in Herbert Spencer is beginning to revive among scholars—perhaps another straw in the wind of a renaissance of liberty and reason. J. D. Y. Peel's intellectual biography of Spencer is the first book on the great man since the 1930s. It is valuable on that account alone, as well as for the copious scholarship and references to Spencer's life and thought. For an exposition of Spencer's life and output there is no better place to begin—except, of course, in his own writings. But Peel's is scarcely the definitive work on Spencer, nor is it a very good one. In addition to being a hopelessly confused and eclectic thinker, Peel suffers from two major defects. First, as a sociologist, he is really interested in Spencer only in that role; Spencer may have been one of the founders of sociology, but that was in large part a dubious achievement. The "science" of sociology is an unholy mess today, largely due to the vague and holistic concepts at its base, and Spencer erred here too, enamoured as he was of treating society as an "organism." Spencer managed to combine this organicist fallacy with methodological and political individualism, but needless to say this was *not* the path trod by his successors. Peel compounds the problem by subjecting Spencer's ideas and personality to sociological and psychological reductionism, and thus the ideas are not so much evaluated in themselves as they are "explained" away.

This failure to treat Spencer with genuine seriousness is the result of Peel's second major defect: his extreme relativism and historicism. For Peel is firmly convinced that there is no enduring social reality, that everything is change, and therefore that no principles or doctrines can be carried over from one historical period to another. It is no wonder that Peel concludes that Spencer's "interest for us now lies in how different he was from us."

Unfortunately, Andreski, too, is a sociologist, and he suffers from a similar focus on sociology. His introductory essay to his collection of Spencer's writings is all too brief, and it lacks Peel's rounded account. But he *does* have the merit of taking Spencer's ideas seriously and of hailing his emerging renaissance for what we have to learn from him. Andreski hails Spencer's prophetic attacks on growing State bureaucracy, but he is unfortunately a middle-of-the-roader politically, and therefore asserts that Spencer apologized for the evils of unhampered capitalist "exploitation."

The best thing about the Andreski volume in fact, is the collection of writings from Spencer himself, particularly the last 90 pages dealing with political philosophy. How superior Spencer is to his commentators! It is a joy to read Spencer on the militant versus the industrial principle and on self-ownership versus ownership by others. Equally exciting are his defense of liberty and his attacks on imperialism and on the State. For the rest, Herbert Spencer still awaits a historian or biographer worthy of their subject. **Reviewed by Murray N. Rothbard/Political Philosophy—Biography/Andreski/LR Price $8.95/Peel/LR Price $11.95**

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AN INTRODUCTION TO IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE

By Jeff Riggenbach

This month we are proud to begin Jeff Riggenbach's long-awaited series on imaginative literature. The six-part series will appear every other month. On the alternate months, and beginning next month, Neil McCaffrey, Publisher and President of Arlington House and jazz buff extraordinary, will take us on a tour of the world of recorded jazz. We are very pleased and excited about these two new features, and we hope you will be, too.

PART I: PREFACE

Once, a few years ago when I was ghost-writing college term papers for a living, I was asked to discuss, compare, and contrast the epistemological theories of five philosophers (Descartes, Hume, Kant, C. I. Lewis, and Merleau-Ponty) in seven typewritten pages (about 1700 words). The present assignment—to write a reasonably comprehensive, reasonably useful introduction to imaginative literature in around 36 typed pages (8400 words)—is not nearly so absurd, but it is equally difficult of achievement. If I try to be reasonably comprehensive about only the Western literary tradition, I will have about three words at my disposal for each year of literary history. ("It was good." "It was bad." "It was so-so." That kind of thing.) If I try to be reasonably useful—Ah! but here we have the issue whose disposition will determine what words like "reasonable" and "comprehensive" will mean in this context: Just what use *is* there in a series of six 1400 word articles on imaginative literature (whatever that is)?

The use of such a series is neither more nor less than the use of any literary criticism—rendering the criticized literature more accessible to its readers and, thereby, making a more intense aesthetic experience available to them. But already I am knee-deep in terms for which no definitions have been offered and for which (alas for the discipline of literary study!) no commonly accepted definitions exist. The definitions I am about to propose and the theory of literature I am about to sketch around them are not commonly or even uncommonly accepted; I know no one who accepts them, save myself. And I am no more able to argue for them effectively in a few hundred words than I was able to discuss, compare, and contrast the epistemologies of five philosophers in seven typewritten pages. All I can do at present is assert my ideas, cite sources of supportive argument for certain of them and indicate the kinds of comprehensiveness and usefulness which they justify as reasonable goals for this series of articles.

FAUST / Goethe / 2 vols. / **LR Price $4.50**

DOCTOR FAUSTUS / Thomas Mann / **LR Price $2.45**

THE VISIT / Friedrich Duerrenmatt / **LR Price $2.95**

A work of imaginative literature is a presentational symbol of human feeling or experience, a verbal presentation of an imaginary world in which imaginary beings engage in imaginary acts and processes, the whole being useful to human beings by enabling them to make certain kinds of abstractions—abstractions about the nature of the world and about the ways in which the conceptual faculty may be used to describe and understand it. (See Susanne K. Langer, *Feeling and Form*.) Now it must be emphasized that no work of imaginative literature is about the real world, and *no work of imaginative literature espouses or implies any theory about the way the real world is.* A work of imaginative literature presents an imaginary world which is a certain way; we find it useful to contemplate this imaginary world because, in doing so, we are enabled to make an abstraction of the sort Ayn Rand calls a "metaphysical value judgment," and being enabled to do that with respect to an imaginary world acquaints us with the mode of conceptual thought we need to do it with respect to the real one. (See Ayn Rand, "The Psycho-Epistemology of Art," in *The Romantic Manifesto*, and "Art and Cognition. Part I," in *The Objectivist*, April, 1971.)

Actually, I should say that being enabled to make such abstractions with respect to an imaginary world acquaints us with the mode of conceptual thought we need to do it with respect to the real one if the writer does his job as an artist properly and if we do our jobs as readers properly. The artist's job, essentially, is to present an imaginary world the total of whose specified detail enables us to make only one abstraction—that is, to present an imaginary world all of whose details may be accounted for by only one abstract idea and all of whose details are relevant to the formation of that idea. The reader's job, essentially, is to engage in the process of concept formation without making errors and to properly interpret the sentences which present the details of the world of the work. No one, of course, is born knowing how to form concepts or interpret sentences; both skills are learned. And the sentences of which imaginative literary works are composed are not always of the same sort as those used in the composition of (for example) philosophical or historical works: they employ rhetorical devices such as metaphor which literally mean differently (according to different semantic and logical principles) and must be understood differently. The job of the literary critic is to discover the interpretive methods appropriate to imaginative works and communicate them to those readers who experience difficulty in discovering such methods themselves.

And what do these general principles imply for this series of articles? That, in recommending works of imaginative literature (and I use "imaginative" here in something like the Coleridgean sense to designate the esemplastic faculty which, rather than rearranging the concretes of the real world into new combinations, creates imaginary concretes and entire imaginary worlds, building up from the same base in sensuous experience from which percepts and concepts of the real world are formed), I must indicate the works' themes, the abstractions which they enable their readers to make. And that I omit from consideration works which are only partially literary (in the sense of using words as only one of two or more ways of presenting their imaginary worlds) and works which I am unqualified to critcize comprehensively. The chief works in the first category are plays (see Susanne Langer's *Feeling and Form* for a discussion of why plays are not literature); the chief works in the second category are works composed in languages other than English (the only language in which I am competent). A literary work is made of words in much the same way a painting is made of canvas and pigment, a bust of plaster, a concerto of tones. Judging a work written in a language one does not read is like judging a painting composed of colors one cannot see. Translation is a difficult business at best; outside of certain unusual circumstances, it is impossible where imaginative literature is concerned. (See William H. Gass's "The Medium of Fiction," in *Fiction and Figures of Life*, and chapters five and six of Rudolf Flesch's otherwise almost valueless book *The Art of Clear Thinking*.)

Nevertheless, almost every lover of literature knows, some of the finest imaginative writing ever done in the English language has been done by playwrights, and some of the most perfectly integrated imaginary worlds in literature have been created by writers who described them in other languages. (It is possible, within limits, when reading a work in translation, to judge the coherence of its world; it is not possible to judge the style in which that world is described.) Accordingly, I want to conclude this preface with a discussion of some plays and some works in translation which I have found particularly exciting. Since any ordinary survey of the "Literature Made Simple" variety can provide the reader with a list of significant English-language playwrights and foreign-language imaginative writers, I shall restrict my own discussion to a handful of the most outstanding of their works.

Oblomov, by the late 19th century Russian Ivan Goncharov, is a brilliant character study of the under-achiever, locating his failure to achieve in his failure to think for himself, and presenting one of the most (contextually) admirable heroines I know in fiction. *Jealousy*, a short novel by the avant-garde French writer Alain Robbe-Grillet, is the most devastating and devastatingly clever presentation of that emotion I have ever read. Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus* ingeniously interweaves the Faust legend with the development of contemporary music and the social and intellectual forces responsible for the transformation of the Weimar Republic into the Third Reich. (The almost incredible complexity of this novel is best appreciated when it is read in combination with Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Geothe's *Faust*, the latter perferably in Phillip Wayne's fine translation.) Hermann Hesse's *The Glass Bead Game* (in the translation by Richard and Clara Winston) is the most effective and moving presentation I know of what it really means to be dedicated to the life of the mind. And the beautifully polished miniatures of the Argentine genius Jorge Luis Broges are available for sampling in the collection

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Riggenbach— *(Continued from page 3)*

called *Labyrinths*; there is almost literally no describing these stories and essays, each of which presents the sensuous reality of a philosophical idea with an economy and precision of expression any writer could use as a model.

William Shakespeare is, and deservedly, the most universally revered of literary playwrights. Read *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice*, or *The Tempest*. (This one—my personal favorite— is particularly enjoyable if read in conjunction with Robert Browning's "Caliban Upon Setebos" and James Branch Cabell's "Prologue of Duke Prospero at Milan.") And, for a fascinating experience of revenge, greed, and their consequences, read and savour *The Visit* by Swiss playwright-novelist Friedrich Duerrenmatt. (In October: *A look at fiction in English and why not much of it written before this century is of much artistic value. Also, a definition of the one key term left undefined this month.* Next month: *The first part of Neil McCaffrey's jazz series.*)

WAR AND THE INTELLECTUALS

By Randolph S. Bourne (Carl Resek, editor)

"War," Richard Hofstadter wrote, was "the nemesis of the liberal tradition." Only a decade ago most historians could say that the First World War had been such a nemesis, that it was the most traumatic experience American intellectuals had encountered in this century. That was before the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, the teach-ins, the campus riots, the resistance and the new look at American foreign policy by those historians broadly dubbed "New Left" or "revisionist."

The verdict of history is not yet in on the effects Vietnam will have on the American intellectual experience. We can speculate about the spinoffs that will occur in the intellectual community. How long will revisionism prosper? How hastily will the intellectuals fill the void left by the Schlesingers and the Rostows and the Bundys? We shall have to wait and see. But for World War I the verdict is in. That experience triggered a revisionist press which helped to buttress American isolationism in the thirties, slowing the path toward war with the Axis. Other intellectuals emigrated to Europe, leaving those opinion moulders at home reexamining their old liberal principles. American liberalism entered World War I leaning toward statism. Many emerged from that experience veering toward libertarianism. Men like H. L. Mencken, Albert Jay Nock and Oswald Garrison Villard were popular champions of individual liberty and dignity. Symbolic of this shift was what happened to Randolph Bourne during the war itself.

Pre-war liberalism, or Progressivism, was grounded in pragmatism, or as John Dewey called it, instrumentalism. One of Dewey's chief proposals was Progressive education, and a young graduate student of Dewey's emerged as its most articulate spokesman. His name was Randolph Bourne. Bourne admired pragmatism and the Progressive school-movement because he felt that it would help to bring about his ideal of a democratic America. But Bourne also liked pragmatism because its founder, William James, had expounded the need for a "moral equivalent to war." Indeed there was possibly no abler spokesman than James amongst the Anti-Imperialist League which had arisen in response to the war with Spain and its sequel, the quelling of the Filipino drive for independence.

Bourne was therefore a pragmatist *and* a pacifist, faced with an intellectual climate in which John Dewey himself could argue that pacifists were "moonstruck" moralists and in which the editors of the *New Republic*, that journal of enlightened liberalism, could argue that they had "adopted one of the most terrible means ever known to man to accomplish one of the greatest ends ever offered to man." Both Dewey and the editors of the *New Republic* counselled the pacifists "to undergo a course in severe realism."

Such arguments were too much for Bourne. When the intellectual community embraced the war aims of the Wilson Administration, Bourne penned in "War and the Intellectuals" that his former colleagues were "not content with confirming our belligerent gesture. They were complacently asserting that it was they who effectively willed it, against the hesitation and the dim perspective of the American democratic masses. A war made deliberately by the intellectuals!"

Bourne's argument with the others was two-fold. He argued that this war, as all others, could not be mastered and could not bring about a liberal solution, that it would bring undemocratic practices at home and that it could not bring about anything but a Carthagenian peace. These intellectuals had put themselves in the predicament of a "child on the back of a mad elephant." Bourne hammered home the argument that war was unpragmatic, something one could not master. He wrote that "willing war means willing all the events that are organically bound up with it." The pacifists opposed a "democratic" war or an "anitseptic" war because "they knew that this was an illusion, and because of the myriad hurts they knew war would do to democracy at home." Bourne argued that "war determined its own end-victory, and government crushes out automatically all forces that deflect. . . energy from the path of organization to that end." In "Conscience and Intelligence in War," (in Randolph Bourne, *The History of a Literary Radical and Other Papers)* Bourne argued that this situation denied the pacifist any choice. "One resists or one obeys. If one resists, one is martyred or coerced. If one obeys, the effect is just as if one accepted the war. In wartime, then, one's pragmatic conscience moves in a vacuum. . . ."

Events were to prove Bourne correct. In America, the democracy was Prussianized. Leaders of the IWW were handed a mass indictment; the editors of the *Masses* were put on trial; Villard found an issue of the *Nation* banned from newsstands; even the *New Republic* was under government surveillance; Espionage and Sedition Laws were enacted; a government propaganda agency, the Creel Committee, was formed; Senator Robert LaFollette was targeted for expulsion from the Senate because of his alleged disloyalty. Was this a product of America's unfamiliarity with war or was it inherent in the nature of war itself? Bourne argued that it was the latter: "All governments will act in the same way, the most democratic as well as the most autocratic. It is only 'liberal' naivete that is shocked by arbitrary coercion and suppression."

It was little wonder that this officially induced war hysteria propelled Bourne's animus against the war to its ultimate conclusion, an attack on the concept of the State itself. Bourne was bitter in his condemnation of both the war and the state, so bitter that historian Charles Forcey argued that "the very realism with which Bourne had viewed the causes and consequences of the war drove him to an unrealistic anarchism" In the pamphlet on which he was working when he died, shortly after the Armistice, he chanted his haunting theme: "War is the health of the State." In this essay he set forth his idea that the State (as distinguished from the nation) sought universal influence over its citizens and that was provided the emergency for this goal. He also expressed his fear that the State sought to sacrifice individual values to the "herd-instinct." "In general," wrote Bourne, "the nation in wartime attains a uniformity of feeling, a hierarchy of values culminating at the undisputed apex of the State ideal. . . . Other values, such as artistic creation, knowledge, reason, beauty, the enhancement of life, are almost unanimously subordinated, and the significant classes who have constituted themselves the amateur agents of the State are engaged not only in sacrificing these values for themselves but in coercing all other persons into sacrificing them." This climate of the herd mentality was particularly galling to Bourne, the literary radical who had championed a youthful cultural nationalism, a system of compulsory education based on Dewey's theories of Progressive education. But that was before the war. Dewey had traded universal education for universal military service and had helped to create a situation in which "one's pragmatic conscience operated in a vacuum." This situation was "the health of the State," the State by its very nature being "the organization of the herd." The values which the "significant classes" tried to subordinate were those he held most dear. Bourne's *Weltanschauung* had been smashed by the war. "The State" was an attempt to piece together a new one that could cope with the circumstances he had faced. Where he would have wandered, had he lived beyond the Armistice, beyond Versailles, one cannot say. Suffice it to say that the politicization of this literary radical by World War I reaped a harvest of material for those opposed to that war, to war in general, and to the concept of the State itself. He was often rational, at times metaphorical and even mystical. Still his writing has a lyrical quality about it that makes him memorable. This, plus his untimely death, provided the fuel for his legendary status in the twenties and thirties. Although he wrote of events surrounding the First World War, his analysis is as penetrating now as it was then. **Reviewed by R. Dale Grinder/ History/LR Price $2.50**

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POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE . . . ?

By W. H. Hutt

From the time of Adam Smith and *The Wealth of Nations* economists have attempted to influence economic policy decisions. But in translating economic theory into political action economists have faced a problem. They have always been open to the charge that their advice was "economically practical" but not "politically practical." Thus, those economists who failed to put their ideas and conclusions within the realm of the politically feasible have had very little impact.

But some economists, such as Lord Maynard Keynes, have had and continue to have a very significant influence. This is because they incorporate the facts of political life into the advice they give. An economist who desires to have any influence on economic policy must accept politics as an important factor in his considerations.

The effects of this trend have been many: a lack of consensus among economists, the weakening of economic theory, the subsequent lack of consistent economic policies, and expediency replacing reason as the ruling force in policy decisions.

In *Politically Impossible . . .* ?, neoclassical economist W. H. Hutt offers his views and insights about this trend in economics, and he presents what he believes to be a more viable means of influencing economic policy decision making. The book begins with an analysis of the setting in which economic policy is made. Hutt holds no illusions about the workings of the democratic process. He realizes that the mass of people are very short-sighted and that most politicians, in order to win their constituents' favor, have also become myopic. He realizes the dilemma economists face in trying to work within a system that involves so much compromise while at the same time maintaining their intellectual integrity. But Hutt rejects the approach that Keynes and others have taken. He does not believe that economists must become politicians. Instead, Hutt offers his own unique approach, what he calls the "dual formula."

The approach Hutt suggests is not to just offer advice based purely on the best economics, nor does he suggest that advice be given purely within the limits set by politics. His approach is to offer both. According to Hutt, when offering ideas and advice the economist should first present them in the purest and best form that economics can give, and then in the next best, that which is politically feasible. But when offering the politically feasible, the economist should not fall prey to the trap that others have fallen into, that of making tacit political judgments. Rather, he should always make his assumptions explicit.

As Hutt sees it, the advantages of this strategy are many, the main one being that it would place the responsibility where it belonged, on those that set the limits on what is and what is not politically possible, whether they be politicians, the populance, or special interest groups. The exposition of this approach is, as in all of Hutt's work, thorough, intellectually vigorous, and most enlightening. If this were all the book contained it would be well worth reading, but Hutt offers more.

He goes on to analyze and apply his principle to three areas of economic policy: the unions, monetary policy, and income transfers (welfare payments, social security, et cetera). His analysis of the effects of the political trend in economics is devastating. He attacks the use of income transfers and monetary policy to buy votes. He attacks politicians for not standing up to the unions' unreasonable demands, and he attacks the unions for making them. And in this connection, he presents an excellent discussion of the effects of Keynesian policies toward labor unions and wage rigidities. His analysis is an indictment of political cowardice and union power.

Hutt's application of the dual formula to each of these policy areas is very interesting, for it is conceivable that if economists had followed his approach—instead of that of Keynes and others—we might not have the problems we now have. His approach deserves serious consideration by economists in general and libertarians in particular, as its application to many libertarian policies and goals is, I believe, possible and very much worth considering.

I cannot, however, give this book my unqualified recommendation. Hutt is a neoclassical liberal, and while I agree with much of his analysis of the democratic political process, I draw much different conclusions from it. Also, he has beliefs about welfare and other policies that I do not think he can justify, in terms of teither economics or political philosophy. But even with these qualifications, I strongly recommend the book. Hutt is a cogent, clear, vigorous thinker, one that I think libertarians will enjoy and learn from. REVIEWED BY MARK S. WELLS / **Economics** / **LR Price $3.70**

LET'S EAT RIGHT TO KEEP FIT
LET'S GET WELL
LET'S COOK IT RIGHT
LET'S HAVE HEALTHY CHILDREN

All by Adelle Davis

The average, bright, do-gooding professional thinks he has an adequate introduction to hygiene and nutrition. Actually, he doesn't think about it. Somehow I involved myself in the organization of a child-care center for infants, babies, and young children of migrant workers. One thing was abundantly clear from the very first minute; they were starved. Easily enough handled—feed them. The little matter of *how* never entered my pointy intellectual head. You have no idea of how inappropriate and stupid cookbooks are until you are standing hip deep in black babies with the ripe odor of starvation and unchanged diapers adding a threnody of reality to the shrill shrieks of unattended misery. (We had three paid staff and a floating population of volunteers to care for upward of a hundred babies from 4 A.M. to 10 P.M.

Enter the local nutrition nut carrying *Let's Cook It Right* by the high priestess of vitamin freakology, Adelle Davis. "Oh Christ," was my analysis, "don't I have enough trouble without food nuts!??" Ah me, how thoroughly does the Mediacracy dominate the thinking of even the very elect. *Let's Cook It Right* turned out to be one of the most eminently sane, revolutionary, productive books ever put before my eyes. Adelle always assumes that you think your health and energy are worth some special effort, but she always realizes that you are made of all-too-weak flesh. This lady had been in a kitchen. Not until *Diet For a Small Planet* and *Recipes For a Small Planet* was I to find another book of similar utility. [Ed. note: *Recipes* is available from *LR*. See Back List.]

Let's Eat Right to Keep Fit, Let's Get Well, Let's Cook It Right, and *Let's Have Healthy Children* form a perfectly adequate library of practical advice, thoroughly documented and flawed only by a few enthusiasms. The most spectacular of Adelle's enthusiasms is her belief in cow's milk. Cow's milk is a fantastic food for calves, but of dubious value for human beings. (Of course, Price did find that isolated societies enjoying splendid health on preindustrial diets did include those eating dairy products from cows fed grass and green hay. Perhaps Adelle's milk enthusiasm would be okay if limited to preindustrial dairy societies.)

Davis has been criticised for some of the most conservative of her recommendations and findings. For example, she urges us to have beautiful children through good nutrition. "Bosh!" cry the ninnies of nutrition. Price, however, documented in voluminous detail the deterioration of physical strength and appearance that occurs when isolated societies adopt the white plague: "white flour, white bread, sugar and white man's canned food."

And did you know that working in an office increases your need for vitamin A? Working in any unusual light will increase the need for this vitamin. Dim light causes night vision to kick in, and night vision requires more vitamin A. Bright light (including the glare from paper) causes protective mechanisms to kick in, also requiring more vitamin A. Symptoms of "A" deficiency not only include eye problems, but roughness of the skin and increased skin infection (such as impetigo, boils, carbuncles, and acne). Dry hair and lackluster nails are also associated with unusual lighting and its transactions with vitamin A metabolism.

Let's Eat Right To Keep Fit, takes an A,B,C,D,E course through the alphabet of vitamins, underlining Adelle's conviction that vitamin intake by means of good food is absolutely vital. The B vitamins are not really supplemented very well by tablets. The Bs are too complex, needed in a

(Continued on page 6)

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Davis—*(Continued from page 5)*

very volatile way, are not stored by the body, and are flushed by water. Pills do not deliver the vitamins in proper ratios; they are taken up from the gut in an unphysiologic way—not slowly as from digesting food, but in a sudden rush. So Adelle expounds on ways to increase the "B" dosage usefully.

The A, D, and E vitamins, on the other hand, absolutely ought to be supplemented. Carrots have been analyzed which contain no caroteen at all. Studies show that about three fourths of Americans get less than half the amount of vitamin A recommended by the National Research Council. To be utilized, vitamin A requires vitamin E (which is also deficient in the American diet), and it can't be stored if there is not enough choline. Since these vitamins are fat soluble, the body can store them, and they can be supplemented with the expectation that their delivery will be more physiologic than in the case of the B vitamins.

Let's Get Well is specifically addressed to the problems which often arise out of poor nutrition—or at least are made worse by poor nutrition. No fanatic (the book is dedicated to doctors), Adelle strongly advises good medical care and not using nutrition as a home remedy in serious illness. However, it is abundantly clear that "super nutrition" prevents much disease and reduces the length and severeity of most disease. Adelle's "Two Unvarying Rules" are sensible protection against faddism: (1) Nutrition should be improved immediately a symptom is noticed. (2) At least 40 and likely more nutriments must be given simultaneously, preferably in a biologic or "organic" fashion. Nutrition is not like the aspirin approach in which a single "medicine" given alone quickly reduces symptoms. While a specific deficiency often has a characteristic symptom, such soloist deficiencies are rare in real life. Nutrition is at its simplest a kind of chamber music, but ordinarily the entire orchestra is required.

Let's Have Healthy Children underlines one of the less pleasant facts of life. If your grandparents and parents were well fed, you have an advantage over people who weren't as choosy about their ancestors. Fortunately, restoration can be enjoyed, and individuals with a poor nutritional history can improve the chances of their own offspring. Price, for example, produced pigs without eyeballs by removing vitamin A from mama pig's diet. The eyeless piggies received a restorative diet and their offspring were quite normal. Good child-care requires excellent diet before conception as well as during pregnancy and nursing. And, of course, the only good food for infants is mama's milk.

All Adelle's life the nutrition ninnies kept yelling that she was a simplistic fanatic. My own prejudice is that Adelle was far too cautious. In some areas she was taken in by the shrinkdoctors, hook, line, and sinker. Her discussion of childhood allergy betrays how thoroughly she was sandbagged, for she regarded allergy as an expression of unventilated anger! The present evidence is that a good supply of B-6 and its sidemen will do much more for allergy than all the ventilating tantrums in the world.

Last summer William Branch, M.D., Adelle Davis' old boss, wrote an appreciation of her for *Nutrition Today*. The appearance of this friendly, warm rembrance of "Vitamin Davis" in the most stodgy mainstream nutrition journal is testimony to the effectiveness of Adelle's lifelong vocation. Beseiged by the medical profession for most of her career, she spent her last years enjoying the rewards of respect won the hard way. Branch and others conclude that the vast storehouse of information about food, diet, and nutrition packed into Adelle's books is based on absolutely accurate data based on prodigious research.

"The best nutrition," said Adelle, "valuable as it is, can only correct conditions which have arisen because certain nutrients were undersupplied." Some fanatic! REVIEWED BY GEORGE VON HILSHIMER / **Survival** / *Eat Right* / **LR Price $1.95** / *Get Well* / **LR Price $1.95** / *Cook It Right* / **LR Price $1.75** / *Healthy Children* / **LR Price $1.75**

PROGRESSIVISM IN AMERICA

By Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.

Arthur Ekirch has made some of the most important contributions to libertarian viewpoints in history through books such as *The Decline of American Liberalism, The Civilian and the Military*, and his anthology, *Voices in Dissent: Individualist Thought in the United States*. The Progressive era and its ideologies were very important not only in the growth of the American State, but also as a forerunner of New Deal concepts and institutions. It was natural then that Ekirch follow his *Ideologies and Utopia: The Impact of the New Deal on American Thought* with his new work, *Progressivism in America*.

A significant contribution here is Ekirch's treatment of the rise of Urban Evangelism—the application of the social gospel and social justice to the new urban America which the immigrants of the New Immigration were creating. While this gospel had almost no influence on the New Immigration and the new urban America they created, it did have a big influence on the national legislation which was passed in the first several decades of the twentieth century. The role of the clergy and the development of a new clergy—social workers and public school teachers—were important in the development of Progressivism.

Progressivism ideologically was derived from the importation of European philosophies in place of the native American common sense of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian eras. On the one hand was the introduction of Cometeanism or positivism, on the other the strength of Hegelian thought in the later nineteenth century. Associated with this was the development of American graduate schools. In the post-Civil War period, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Chicago developed as a new institution in the Anglo-American educational world, the graduate school. Ordinary college education was placed in second place, and graduate education was seen as the means of training leaders in politics and in public administration—a new "science." In England, a lot of this was associated with the Fabians. In America, most of the leaders of this movement had gone to Germany to attend graduate schools and returned with a new vision of a paternalistic socialism as practiced in Imperial Germany. A strong state was able to introduce social legislation without the political implications of a successful socialist movement. Bureaucrats, technocrats, and other graduates of graduate schools would run an efficient welfare state for general benefit. Leaders in the Progressive political movement who came out of this tradition included: Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, Albert Beveridge, John Hay, and Woodrow Wilson.

These were the nationalist Progressives from the eastern US and Ivy League schools who wished to reorganize a society which they felt was corrupted by the rise of uneducated (but rich) enterprisers. Such businessmen needed to be put in their proper place beneath the educated, older families who held political power and high office as a trust for the whole people, et cetera. To overcome the businessmen who had thrived in the laissez-faire of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian variety, these men wanted to establish a Hamiltonian program that would place control in the hands of the older, established financial institutions, the Market Street and Wall Street banking houses. Thus, Teddy Roosevelt undertook the struggle against the Standard Oil Company, which was viewed as too strong and too independent by Wall Street. The issue that called Roosevelt back to politics to form the Progressive Party in 1912 was William Howard Taft's antitrust suit against the great Morgan creation, United States Steel. The Progressive Party was financed and managed by George W. Perkins, a Morgan partner.

Behind all this important political economy, there was also a mass movement for reform and efficiency in local government, a movement with a populist background, which has also been called Progressivism. This populist Progressivism, whatever its faults, was not related to the state monopoly corporate system of the nationalist Progressives, although it has often been confused with it.

Albert Jay Nock, who had played an active role in this popular, rather than nationalist, Progressivism, saw that the Progressives had been faced with a contradiction that many who were committed to liberalism did not wish to see, and that those who were committed to statism tried to mask. Nock noted: "The reformers themselves apparently did not see that the State, as an arbiter of economic advantage, must necessarily be a potential instrument of economic exploitation." An echo of that view is seen in the comment of the historian Albert Bushnell Hart: "No free people is more subject to the arbitrary will of the man in authority than the Americans."

In several chapters dealing with imperialism and national security, Ekirch shows the development of statism through the fostering of a national-security mentality. Foreign affairs had become a major focus for the eastern, and especially New York, Republicans and Progressives who were involved in law and banking. With the passage of the income tax amendment and the formation of the Federal Reserve System, foreign affairs seemed to be the best arena for the development both of national unity and new mercantilist institutions. While strongly opposed by the populist Progressives, the American entry into World War I was hoped for and welcomed by the nationalist Progressives. For the nationalist Progressives, Wilson's wartime administration became the model for the corporate state for which they struggled. Wilson's attitudes and policies fitted perfectly their desires and plans. That World War I model became the basis for the final introduction of national Progressivism and its authority over Americans in the New Deal. REVIEWED BY LEONARD LIGGIO / **History / LR Price $4.95**

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Why Three Leading Libertarians Read

Libertarian Review

NATHANIEL BRANDEN, PH.D.
8686 SUNSET BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90069

March, 1975

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Nathaniel Branden, Ph.D.

NB/dr

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10024

March, 1975

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Murray N. Rothbard

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY PARK
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90007

March, 1975

To whom it may concern:

The Libertarian Review provides for believers in liberty the kind of book review service that The New York Review of Books provides for believers in Big Government. Current books in politics, sociology, economics, philosophy, history, fiction--all are reviewed by Libertarian Review as long as they bear directly or indirectly on issues of individual liberty and individual rights.

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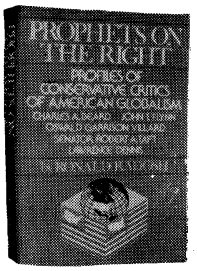
By Rona



Somehow or other I seem to have missed something. A number of important historians, economists and publicists whom I have thought of for 40 years as integral members of the American liberal fold have in the last decade been assigned to our "right wing." This is in part due to the scholars of the New Left, who since the mid-1960's, have specialized in opposing the Cold War with Russia and China and with equal breath the now-defunct war in Vietnam. In the course of their researches they have discovered a tradition of antiwar objection associated with all American wars, but in particular the opposition to World War II (which, more than not, even they have considered our One Great Holy Combat) and, from its very start, the Cold War. What has intrigued and excited them is that the critics of both of these martial adventures were essentially the same people. Because some sectors of conservative opinion found these critics' antiwar writing and talk relating to World War II congenial to their own views, the anti-interventionists have come to be thought of as "rightists," too. (Ignored is the conservatives' rejection of their anti-Cold War stance, and the fact that in the early 1950s among the loudest and most extensive supporters of revisionist history concerning World War II were the press of the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, which are hardly to be enlisted within any "right wing," at least in this Galaxy.)

Many ideological stereotypes have been torn to shreds by the conflict caused by the complexities of American attitudes toward world politics, but the dust has not yet settled, and no clear separation into rigid camps has taken place, at least not so far as I can tell. Furthermore, it has been acceptable so far to treat the antiwar people as one-dimensional, overlooking the fact that they were immensely complicated persons with wide-ranging and voracious interests. For purposes of analysis of just their antiwar views, this is quite reasonable, but the neglect of everything else they advocated and fought for has resulted in a picture badly askew.

The effort to make a "right-wing individualist" out of Harry Elmer Barnes especially comes to mind. I knew Barnes intimately for most of the last 20 years of his life, and whatever else he may have been, he certainly was not a right-wing individualist. His favorite economist was Veblen, not Mises; his favorite analyst of world affairs was George Orwell, not any of the conservative Pythons; by all odds his favorite contemporary sociologist was C. Wright Mills. As near as I could figure out, he never voted for a Republican in his life, and the only person I ever heard him get enthusiastic about as a possible presidential candidate was William O. Douglas. Barnes was an incredibly complex man, but so were the other prominent people associated with the liberal camp in the 1920-1960 era. Justus Doenecke's recent essay in *The History Teacher* on Barnes as a sociologist, in which he finds Barnes to be an intellectual ancestor of significant parts of the New Left, undoubtedly comes much closer to the truth than any of the Barnes-as-right-winger characterizations.

So, for someone such as myself who lived through the pre-World War II period and took part in its political passions—even if only as an obscure spear carrier in the back row—the thinking of the younger writers who are reassessing that time is a little hard to fathom. It is especially difficult to divine how they arrive at their categories of "right" and "left." I find it extremely difficult to come to terms with the identification of such of the main characters in *Prophets on the Right* as Charles A. Beard, Oswald Garrison Villard, and John T. Flynn (and their close collaborator, Barnes) as right-wingers. If anti-communism or anti-Stalinism is the determining factor, in my experience the most implacable anti-Communists/anti-Stalinists were the anarchists and the IWW, and their utter lack of sympathy with Bolo Heaven clearly disqualifies them from inclusion among rightists of any possible dispensation.

Now, let us get on to some observations about this book. This is as fair, sober, and measured an evaluation and presentation of the basic foreign-policy views and ideas of Beard, Villard, Flynn, Robert A. Taft (Senior), and Lawrence Dennis, as one is likely to see in these times, with a minimum of relapsing into what I call the "omigod" syndrome. (It has been my experience in the last 30 years to see one globaloney liberal after another virtually tied up in a flustered hysteria upon encountering the arguments for abstaining from international bloodbaths and perpetual interference in other countries' domestic affairs. Radosh has grown up in a political environment dominated by their presence, but has managed to shrug most of it off.) It is written in an admirably simple style, a refreshing break from the tangled bafflegab which one expects from the academic eraser-pits. I regret that his study was not extended to a sixth figure, Barnes. The latter's many columns in the Scripps-Howard newspapers were frequently on the subject covered in this book. His further work, ranging from his many books and his articles in such as the *Progressive* to his repeated public addresses on foreign affairs, as well as his voluminous correspondence, would have made top-rate raw material. And like Villard and Flynn, he was silenced in 1940 for the same reasons.

In dealing with some of his subjects, Radosh has made copious reference to correspondence and other unpublished papers, which has illuminated the record but not substantially affected it. I believe Bertram Wolfe was eminently correct in insisting that when it boils

THE PANIC OF 1819

By Murray N. Rothbard

Though short-shrifted in most history books, the Panic of 1819 was an unforgettable nightmare for early Americans. Banks throughout the country were unable to make good on customers' claims for specie and were forced to close their doors. Creditors foreclosed on deeply indebted farmers, city-dwellers, and speculators who had bought cheap public land. Wages as well as prices dropped precipitously. Interest rates climbed and people moaned over the "scarcity of money." Utmost in the minds of American leaders and influential journalists was the question, "Why did the boom die?"

The Panic of 1819, Murray Rothbard's incisive and extremely well-styled Columbia University dissertation, provides an answer and a fascinating history of the era.

The panic and depression were a result of a huge monetary inflation. After the War of 1812, the economy flourished, as loosely chartered State banks issued redeemable notes far beyond specie. The quantity of money multiplied rapidly. In 1815 alone, bank notes increased from $46 million to $68 million!

Eventually, bank notes began selling at a discount, as foreigners and money-brokers profitably claimed the notes for specie. In addition, the Bank of the United States began to call on branches to redeem other bank obligations. The monetary expansion ended abruptly and a wave of bankruptcies ensued.

Although the 1819-21 depression was relatively short-lived, Rothbard shows how the panic served as an important training ground for future American leaders. It was during this period, for example, that General Andrew Jackson grew extremely suspicious of banks. There is little doubt that Jackson's vehement opposition to the Second Bank of the U.S. grew out of this experience. Other important contemporary figures, such as Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, and Davy Crockett (who called the banking system a "swindling"), also gained prominence at this time as a consequence of their opposition to wildcat banking.

One of the most interesting parts of Rothbard's history presents the views of the Founding Fathers who lived through the Panic of 1819. Thomas Jefferson is referred to as the "most thorough-going opponent of bank credit," favoring the "eternal suppression of bank paper." Jefferson believed that only specie should be allowed to circulate. Jefferson's son-in-law, Governor Thomas Randolph, was in support of a 100 percent specie standard. James Madison regarded banks as "harmful" institutions. And John Adams, whose views on banks were nearly identical with Jefferson's, regarded paper money beyond specie as "theft." Although such views as the 100 percent specie standard are considered repugnant and taboo to most economists today, it is interesting and significant that such views were generally held by the Founding Fathers.

Another fascinating aspect of Rothbard's research is the debate that raged between the inflationists and the hard-money advocates during the depression. Some public figures spoke out for public works projects and relief for the poor. Some states enacted legislation to keep creditors from foreclosing on debtors (stay laws and minimum appraisal laws). Others blamed the depression on the contraction of the money supply and enacted laws to "prime the pump" in an effort to reduce interest rates and

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THE RIGHT

l Radosh

down to the final assessment, public men have to be judged by their public record. I know much more about one of them—Dennis—than I know about the others, but I learned a great deal from him and three of the other four, all of whom were at the peak of their intellectual powers when I was a student. I was never active in practical politics and therefore grew to respect Mr. Taft on the basis of his adherence to views of other men by whom I was influenced. I have always tended to heed Frank Simonds' admonition that there is only one way for a man to look at a politician, and that is down; in the case of Mr. Taft I made an exception.

The author's treatment of Dennis is especially welcome, and I am still scratching my brow in disbelief that it has appeared in a book issued by a major publisher in my time. I have always been entertained by the totally panicked disintegration and whooping dismay of our Stalinist liberals at Dennis' identification of himself as a "fascist" in the 1930s, as though it were the most reprehensible thing in the last million years, while at the same time they looked upon anyone certifying his communism with the sedate galactic aplomb that one would have expected of them had said person announced himself a charter member of the cherubim. But in the 1930s, any loyal Russian, no matter where he lived, had to assume this air of prostrated and affronted outrage, since anyone doing as Dennis did automatically arrayed himself against the side of Stalinist paradise, and thus made himself a candidate for early murder.

Unless a book contains outright factual errors or studied untruths I do not see much sense in criticizing it because it is not the kind of book I would have written, which is what most unsympathetic reviewers are saying most of the time. I would however like to enter a mild objection to the repeated criticism of Flynn for his enthusiasm for Senator Joseph McCarthy and his domestic anti-Communist crusade. After the abuse Flynn took from the Communists and (especially) fellow-traveling liberals, it is expecting too much of him to believe that he should have stood by in the McCarthy era, waving his arms while beaming mellow forgiveness of his 1937–1950 adversaries, chanting generous benediction and joining in the duckspeak of anti-McCarthyism and the tones of fake horror that accompanied such verbal reflexes. Flynn understood perfectly that McCarthy's *real* target was not a handful of obscure Communist clerks in some government agency, but the gang of affluent corporate liberals who had sold Stalinism so assiduously while the FDR fuglemen made anticommunism a seditious offense. As Alistair Cooke ruefully noted at the height of McCarthy's prominence, McCarthy was the price the liberals were paying for 12 years of Roosevelt.

Radosh stresses repeatedly the consequences to his subjects of their stubborn opposition to the war crowd and its policies in the 1935–55 period. Flynn and Villard, and especially Dennis (and Barnes), took the slander, the destruction of their careers, the drastic reduction of their influence and income, and the venomous character assassination and malicious derogation by the totalitarian liberal coyote pack, with little perceptible complaint. They kept fighting until death or disability via illness made fighting no longer possible. For this I admired and respected them more than for anything they ever said or wrote. They were giants among low creeplings who took the easy way of scraping accommodation with the New American Order which took shape during the Second World War, and which shows only very slight indication of breaking down to this day, despite the inability of its Fuehrers to resolve the unfinished business of World War II, of which Germany, Korea, Vietnam, and Israel are just obvious major evidences. And for gratuitous malevolence nothing exceeds the efforts of those members of the academic historical lupinar who, after Beard published his two books critical of Roosevelt II's foreign policy, undertook to destroy the credibility of everything he had written before.

It has yet to be proven that the system that has evolved in America in this century can work without reliance upon war of some kind. We need more attention to the domestic dependence upon war as an unemployment blotter and engine of "prosperity" and less to florid raving about the necessity of putting down planetary political transgression. Americans have been dusted heavily with the pollen of moral fervor which has been drifting down upon them for 75 years, urging the obligation of going abroad and imposing the death penalty upon political forms and solutions with which they do not agree. But it is about time we examined more deeply what is covered by this rhetorical canopy. The celebrated New Dealer Chester Bowles admitted in 1954 that FDR's crowd had failed miserably in trying to find a solution to the Depression and that only the "defense" buildup beginning in 1940 had put Americans back to work—and that only the World War and the Cold War had kept them at work. Is it only a coincidence that the business collapse and mounting unemployment of the last year or so have come on the heels of the phasing-out of the Vietnam War and the thawing of the Cold War? Such recent books examining various aspects of our warfare state as those of Fred Cook and Seymour Melman and the *Report from Iron Mountain* are really just extrapolations of Dennis' *The Dynamics of War and Revolution* of 35 years ago. For those who have just begun to think about the problem or for whom *Prophets on the Right* is an introduction to it, Radosh's work should be immensely enlightening and very useful **Reviewed by James J. Martin/History–Biography/LR Price $9.95**

stimulate business. On the national level, vain efforts were made to issue a currency unbacked by gold or silver. Finally, some blamed the depression on foreign imports and sought a high protective tariff.

But unlike today, the deflationists and hard-money men had the upper hand. As a result, the depression ended rather quickly (by 1821) when confidence in banks was restored and currency once again was redeemable in specie.

Now, to paraphrase George Santayana, if only we could learn from history instead of repeating it! REVIEWED BY MARK SKOUSEN / **Economics–History / LR Price $12.50**

COMMON SENSE ECONOMICS

By John A. Pugsley

If someone who was knowledgeable about insurance, tax shelters and mutual funds wanted to write a book like Harry Browne's *How to Profit from the Coming Devaluation*, yet different, this is the book he would write.

Like most of us who do not believe in cornucopiae or the goose with golden eggs, Pugsley has always had a healthy skepticism about government interference in the economy. As with so many others, it was his reading of Browne's first book which congealed and formulated his fears and acted as a lever for further thought. This has made him rather self-conscious of his debt to Browne and to Henry Hazlitt for his classic *Economics in One Lesson*; it is a debt that is shared by too few writers of books or financial planning. I do not believe, however, he should feel any more uncomfortable representing truths of economics discovered, or popularized, by others than should a teacher in reiterating that 2+2=4.

In any event, the book's first 50 pages provide a good short summary of the basis of money (à la Browne) and free market economics (à la Hazlitt). Having laid this foundation, the next 75 pages constitute a primer on investment—stocks, bonds, savings accounts, gold, silver, art, land, counseling services, and so forth. The advice given is based on the premise that the nation's economy is heading for trouble; I find both the premise and the advice sound.

Pugsley devotes over one-third of the book to insurance and tax shelters. As you might imagine, he recommends term insurance and full use of such things as the Keogh plan. The specifics of who, what, where, why, and how clearly come from someone who has been on both sides of the fence, someone with an insider's view of the ploys and gambits employed by the ubiquitous insurance man. I am glad Pugsley included this large section, because the points he makes on both life and health coverage need making, and I have only seen this done before in books devoted exclusively to insurance. If you own any insurance this section alone makes the book worthwhile—even if you have already read Browne and Hazlitt.

This book is both economically and philosophically sound. Paul Samuelson and John Kenneth Galbraith might each like a copy to help them figure out how best to protect themselves from the foolishness they have made public policy. REVIEWED BY DOUGLAS R. CASEY / **Economics / LR Price $10**

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Briefly Mentioned

FREEDOM UNDER SIEGE: THE IMPACT OF ORGANIZED RELIGION ON YOUR LIBERTY AND YOUR POCKETBOOK

By Madalyn Murray O'Hair

"Well known as an avowed atheist and national leader in a fight to sustain the principle of the separation of church and state, Mrs. O'Hair, in language as blunt as her subtitle, pleads 'the inalienable right to freedom from religion as well as freedom of religion'—and then wheels out her battalions. She ticks off in chapter after chapter what she sees as the ways in which organized religion, major Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church, has increased its inroads into our governmental, political and cultural life, all the while benefitting from unconstitutional tax exemptions and running vast business enterprises. . . . stands up boldly to make some powerful points . . . . "—*Publishers Weekly* / **LR Price $8.95**

DICTIONARY OF NUTRITION

By Richard Ashley & Heidi Duggal

"A useful collection of general information, including the caloric and nutritive content of foods. When more than one view exists on nutrition theory, both sides are presented. No attempt is made, beyond brief definition, to explain nutritional treatment for various diseases . . . . diseases caused by forms of nutritional imbalance are defined and the specific need is noted, but correctional diets are not included. Diseases such as diabetes and heart trouble, in which dietary control is an important factor, are mentioned in relation to the nutritional need involved. . . . Wherever drugs are discussed, the type of drug and its action are defined, but brand names are not listed or compared . . . . "—Ute W. Bestehorn in *Library Journal* / **Survival / LR Price $8.95**

GOVERNMENT SANCTION OF THE OIL CARTEL

By D. T. Armentano

Government officials have again raised the specter of gas rationing and a natural-gas shortage this winter. Relevant to this discussion is Armentano's informative lecture on the role of the oil companies in creating the oil monopoly and regulation of the oil industry. He specifically questions whether the Arab oil embargo was to blame, discusses the effects of price control on supply, defends oil company profits and explains natural-gas regulation, state prorationing, quotas, and environmental policies. His thorough presentation will offer new insights to anyone hearing this cassette. / **Economics** / Tape 224 / **LR Price $7.50**

ANARCHO-CAPITALISM VS. LIMITED GOVERNMENT

By Roy Childs & Jeffrey St. John

This debate at the spring 1971 Libertarian Conference at Columbia University arose out of Childs' "Open Letter to Ayn Rand," in which he attacked the concept of limited government and advocated anarcho-capitalism. Jeffrey St. John defends the Objectivist view favoring limited government in this lively and informative exchange. **Political Philosophy** / Tape 173 / **LR Price $8.95**

DEAR AMERICA

By Karl Hess

"How can an upwardly mobile suburbanite who was a speechwriter for Barry Goldwater in 1964 become in a few years an anarchist and tax resister who can't own property or work for wages because the IRS has a 100% lien on his earnings? Hess did it, and in this mind-bending book he tells how the transformation took place. He gives us a new and trenchant profile of Goldwater, probing the contradiction between his conservative ethic and his advocacy of "a strong national-security state." He is harsh on life in suburbia and on corporate eager beavers whose 16-hour days are spent not so much doing necessary work as demonstrating their loyalty to the corporation. There's something here to give apoplexy to anyone in the over-$20,000 bracket, and it comes not from a naive idealist but from a sophisticated insider who has been up and down the political and corporate ladders and didn't like what he saw there. . . ."—*Publishers Weekly* / **Political Philosophy-Autobiography / LR Price $7.95**

MEDIACRACY: AMERICAN PARTIES AND POLITICS IN THE COMMUNICATION AGE

By Kevin P. Phillips

"This is actually three books in one. It is a delightful and provocative critique of the corporate liberalism of the post-New Deal/Great Society genre; a popularized version of the post-industrial society thesis of Daniel Bell and Herman Kahn with a little *Future Shock* thrown in; and an analysis of present and future American politics in the geographic/statistical tradition. Phillips believes our society and politics are on the verge of a 'fundamentally changed era.' For our politics this will mean turmoil: new alignments, confused ideologies, decaying parties, institutional shifts, a new demography. The coming power struggle will pit the new knowledge-liberal-elite of the Northeast against a traditionalist counterrevolution in the Sun Belt states. Phillips' predictions include, for example, 'a mass-based authoritarian drift' with control of the media being the central issue as control of industry was earlier. . . . a provocative and stimulating addition to a serious debate." —Henry J. Steck in *Library Journal* / **LR Price $7.95**

THERE'S NO SUCH THING AS A FREE LUNCH

By Milton Friedman

"Friedman disdains economic amateurs and illiterates, resting his case on his distinction as a pro's pro as evidenced by his decades of economic expertise, his writings, his smartly written columns in *Newsweek* from 1966 to present, his adoption by Nixon as economic mentor before Nixon suddenly announced a . . . switch to Keynesian controls in 1971. Here, in a hefty book composed mostly of his *Newsweek* pieces . . . Friedman is seen at top form . . . . He espouses a classic faith in the free enterprise system and the laws of supply and demand . . . . *Playboy*'s 1973 interview with him makes a topnotch opener."—*Publishers Weekly* / **Economics-Political Philosophy / LR Price $3.95**

THE OLD RIGHT AND THE NEW

By Murray N. Rothbard

In this extremely interesting and informative address to the Organization of American Historians, Rothbard recounts the struggles of the isolationist Old Right of the 1930s with the forces favorable to intervention in World War II. He traces the transformation of conservatism as the specter of the Cold War arises. An excellent presentation which provides a historical framework for understanding today's conservative and libertarian movements. / **History-Political Philosophy** / Tape 157 / **LR Price $7.50**

BIG BUSINESS

By C. Northcote Parkinson

"Parkinson, originator of the well-known Parkinson's Law, has written what is basically an overview of the leading industrial enterprises of the western world tracing parallel patterns in their growth and development. The author finds that in nearly all instances, individual initiatives . . . produced dynamic national concerns . . . which, in turn, generated today's multitude of multinationals and conglomerates . . . .He laments the threat to his pattern posed by the specter of government intervention and concludes with a plea for a return to the principles of the free enterprise system . . . . "—William H. Hoffman in *Library Journal* / **History-Economics / LR Price $9.95**

THE HEEL OF ACHILLES: ESSAYS 1968-1973

By Arthur Koestler

"The 26 pieces in this collection range all the way from lectures to professional audiences to reviews of popular books for the London *Times* and the *Observer*. Koestler speaks to Canadian educators on student rebellions, and to English psychiatrists on 'Can Psychiatrists Be Trusted?' His travel essays give incisive but understanding views of Australia, Fiji, Marrakech; and he is as objective as he can be in his report on the Fischer-Spassky chess match in Reykjavik. In the longest essay in the book, 'Mahatma Gandhi —Yogi and Commissar,' he deflates the myth of sainthood, speculates on Gandhi's peculiar philosophy of sex, and concludes that the Mahatma was an anachronism and that 'India would be better off today. . . without the Gandhian heritage'. . . . satisfying reading. . . . "—*Publishers Weekly* / **LR Price $8.95**

THE TRUE MONETARY HISTORY OF THE 1929 DEPRESSION

By Percy Greaves, Jr.

Nothing is more important in discussing economics and today's financial market than the point of whether government or the free market caused the Great Depression. Greaves traces, step by step, the blunders that led to the crash, conclusively demonstrating that the blame lies with the Federal Reserve for its meddling with the financial system. Listeners will be surprised by the increased understanding of the current economic scene gained from listening to this lecture. / **Economics-History** / Tape 154 / **LR Price $14.95**

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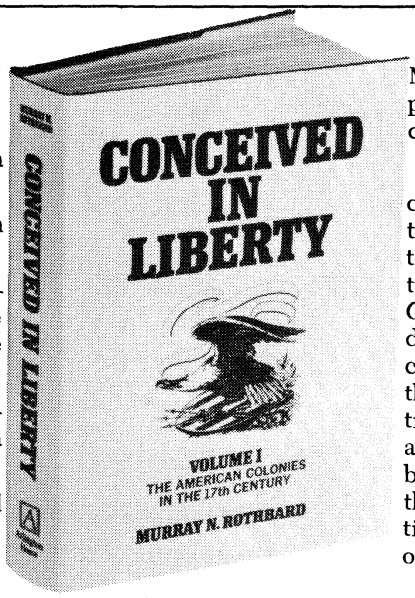

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In this first of a projected three volumes, Murray Rothbard provides a bold new interpretation of the American colonies in the 17th century.

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This, then, is *fresh* history, the sort that never finds its way into the standard texts. The colorful narrative is spiced with robust Rothbard wit. At his liveliest when most iconoclastic, Dr. Rothbard here displays the verve and originality that have made him the fountainhead of modern libertarian thought.

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WHO'S AFRAID OF 1984?

By Jerome Tuccille

Jerome Tuccille's books are too often criticized not for what they are by for what they are not.

Radical Libertarianism was not the final word on libertarian thought; it was a timely (for 1970) statement of libertarian concepts using left-liberal terminology. *It Usually Begins With Ayn Rand* was not a factual history of the new libertarian movement; it was a very funny house-cleaning of some dusty, pre-libertarian hangovers. *Here Comes Immortality* was not a textbook on life-extension research; it was an effective projection of a society that had conquered both death and taxes. What Jerry Tuccille does write is entertaining, popular journalism salted with his own irreverent brand of zany speculation. And if you keep your tongue firmly in cheek, you will be much less likely to bite into it when Tuccille occasionally goes overboard.

Who's Afraid of 1984? continues this pattern. Subtitled "The Case for Optimism in Looking Ahead to the 1980s," its approach is twin-edged.

Divided into two parts, Book One is an attempt to refute "Doomsday Past." The doomsday of George Orwell's classic *1984*. The doomsday of Paul Erlich's not-so-classic *Population Bomb*. The anti-technologists. The neo-Malthusians. The "Man is the cancer of Spaceship Earth" crowd. All well and good here, as Tuccille does a splendid job of detailing past doomsday projections and their failure to come about. The Reverend Thomas Malthus's 1798 prediction that by now we would have multiplied far beyond our food-production capabilities. The Paddock brothers' *Famine—1975*, which in 1967 predicted that by this year at the latest most of India's population would be dead of starvation. (Which is not to imply that the Indians are eating much beyond mere sustenance.) The automation-leads-to-mass-unemployment scare of the sixties. (Even Rod Serling felt obliged to write a *Twilight Zone* episode about *that* one.)

The problem here, however, is that Tuccille is not content to show the absurdity of most of the Doomsday Brigade's (as he calls it) claims, but also feels it necessary to tie in the entire phenomenon with *collectivism*. Tuccille devotes 32 pages of Book One to recounting the goals of the left, from the Progressives through the New Deal and Camelot to the McGovern campaign. His thesis—supported with numerous quotes from left-wing intellectuals and organizations—is that the Doomsday Brigade is the latest attempt of the left to take over once and for all. (A thesis, by the way, which is reminiscent of Ayn Rand's *New Left: The Anti-Industrial Revolution*.)

Undoubtedly, there is a large element of truth here, but which is cause and which effect? Do not ideologues of any stripe tend to focus on those facts and theories that make their pet formulas look most favorable? If such intellectual opportunism is all it takes to prove conspiracy, could we not find equal guilt among those libertarians who tout economic Armageddon to sell Austrian economic theories and survival foods? Any prediction must stand or fall on its merits, and revealing the vested interests of a theory's followers does not prove the original theory without merit. I fear that Jerry Tuccille's approach here will alienate the very people on the left who might have been ready to consider free-market solutions but who automatically close their minds to right-wing rhetoric.

Book Two ("Here Comes 1984") is, Tuccille informs us, a mirror-image of the society portrayed in George Orwell's novel. A society in which the consumer calls the tune and Little Brother better dance. A World Market instead of a World State. A World Without War because the multinational corporations find it bad for business. A "What will they think of next?" society. An Epicurean leisure-class society. A largely libertarian society.

Again, splendid. If, however, you are hoping for more than delightful speculation, alas! It will not be found here. In essence, Tuccille's case for optimism rests on his conviction that human initiative interacting in the marketplace can triumph over all obstacles. But this has yet to be proven. [One might say, however, that the burden of proof rests with anyone who tries to prove another route workable.]

But just as George Orwell presented the world with what he hoped would be a self-defeating prophesy, perhaps Jerome Tuccille will have gone a fair distance in providing us with a self-fulfilling one. REVIEWED BY J. NEIL SCHULMAN / **LR Price $7.95**

AN AFTERWORD FROM

Holy Humbug!

I hesitate to unravel James Kiefer's theistic confusions on limited data, i.e., Professor Veatch's review of Kiefer's lecture. But on the whole I think the likelihood of clarification is greater than the likelihood of greater confusion.

Readers who attempted to understand Veatch's summary will, no doubt, have been puzzled. Why is it supposed, by Kiefer and Veatch, that "natural selection can account for the adaptation of various things for various purposes, but never for purposes of knowledge?" There is a hint of how this not-so-rare argument is supposed to work in the startling claim that, "only if our minds are designed for knowledge, would there be the slightest reason to suppose that our minds could yield genuine knowledge."

Here is at least one version of how the argument is supposed to work: We know that our senses are informative independently of having any theory about the natural selection of informative sense organs. Thus, the explanation for our senses being informative cannot be that they developed through natural selection. But if not through natural selection and not through "mere coincidence," then through the Diety (or visitors from Mars?). This argument presumes that if one knows something (that the senses are informative) without knowing the truth of some particular historical explanation for the known fact, then that particular historical explanation is not the correct explanation. But this is a silly presumption. And it defeats the theist's own purpose. For one could just as easily argue: We know that our senses are informative independently of having any theory of God's purposes. Thus, the explanation for our senses being informative cannot be theistic. If "mere coincidence" is also ruled out, then the explanation must be natural selection. Of course, neither of these arguments are any good. Knowing that our senses are informative has nothing to do with picking the historical explanation for this fact.

Readers interested in examining this version of the argument from design should read the clever exposition in the first edition of Richard Taylor's *Metaphysics*.

ERIC MACK
Sunderland, Mass.

After reading Veatch's review of Kiefer's *Objectivism and Theism*, I can only deplore retroactively the appearance of this obscurantist tract in your catalogue. Kiefer's argument for the existence of a God is based on the assertion that "knowledge . . . cannot be accounted for as having come about by [an evolutionary process cumulating the effects of natural selection and] chance." This assertion is ambiguous, meaning either that "if we assume that the human mind is a product of evolution, then we cannot prove that it is capable of knowledge," or that "chance and natural selection cannot result in an organized informational system capable of acquiring knowledge." The first of these is true, but irrelevant, since knowledge is axiomatic in the Aristotelian sense. One cannot prove that his mind is capable of knowledge, since the axiom of knowledge is logically antecedent to the possibility of proof. The second is demonstrably false, since the evolution of organization out of chance is a well understood natural process. (See, for example, W. R. Ashby's *Design for a Brain* or any of a dozen technical books dealing with the theory of self-organizing systems.) Kiefer's argument has other problems. For example, how would his assertion that a mind capable of knowledge can only result from design apply to his alleged God? Design requires knowledge, so if Kiefer's assertion were correct, the mind of our putative designer would have had to be designed in its turn, etc. It is difficult to find a solution more believeable than an infinite regression of Gods, each designed by a predecessor. Surely, the idea of a God traveling backward in time in order to design his own mind boggles the mind of a mere human . . . .

ADAM V. REED
New York, N.Y.

I must confess, I do not understand wherein lies the validity of James Kiefer's argument that man's conceptual abilities cannot be accounted for solely by natural selection. Natural selection does not mean things happen solely by chance. To assume that ignores the cybernetic relationship which exists between any organism and its environment. The development of the nervous system occurred in bits and pieces over millions of years; we did not all sprout eyes when Darwin stepped forward and said, "Let there be sight!" Nor did we just start thinking when Ayn Rand stepped forward and said, "Man is a rational being" (or whoever it was who said it first).

The structure of the human mind which allows man cognitive abilities developed in stages just as did the structure of the minds of lower animals which allowed them to integrate senses into percepts. And the force of nature which "directed" this development was not some god but the conditions of existence under which we live, i.e., reality.

While no other animal on this planet has developed conceptual faculties as has man, we can see the beginnings of these faculties in higher-order primates such as chimpanzees. This on the basis of recent experimental evidence from Yerkes.

No Athenian was ever independent of the length of Procrustes bed; no man was ever independent of the natural forces existing in the universe. (Note to the uninitiated: this is not a deterministic statement, nor does it have anything to do with the issue of free will). And the theory of natural selection is manifested in the laws of genetics is fully capable of explaining the development of *any* physical structure in the human body. James Kieter is in error.

ROBERT B. Crim
Naugatuck, Conn.

Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to LR, *410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.*

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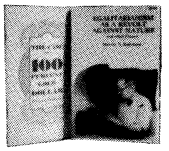

by America's Number One Libertarian Scholar

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Now, with this work, the process of assembling Dr. Rothbard's collected essays has begun. Although best known for his work in economics and history, Rothbard strangely is least appreciated in areas where he has done some of his most cogent and seminal work, i.e. in the area of social philosophy and social commentary. Among the widely quoted essays included, besides the title essay, are:

"Left and Right: The Prospects for Liberty," "The Anatomy of the State," "Justice and Property Rights," "Ludwig von Mises and the Paradigm for Our Age" and "Why Be Libertarian."/Price $2.50

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Kiefer Replies

It is a pity that my critics have not heard the tape they complain of, for all their objections are discussed in it. Had they heard the tape and remained unconvinced (a possibility I am willing to allow for) they might have broken new ground by explaining why my analysis of these objections fails to satisfy them. As it is, I can only reply by quoting most of the tape at them (which space considerations forbid) or by retorting that those who have foregone the luxury of hearing an argument should deny themselves the luxury of condemning it (which diplomatic considerations forbid).

Eric Mack has read Taylor's version of the argument, but seems to me to have misunderstood it. Taylor does remark in passing that we assume that our cognitive apparatus is in principle reliable, that we do not infer this reliability from biological theory or from anything else—that it is, as Adam Reed states, "axiomatic in the Aristotelian sense." But he does not offer this as a reply to Psychological Darwinism. His reply is that man's ability to find out truth far exceeds what is needed for survival.

I offer a slightly different reply: Natural selection produces and accounts for adaptive physical behavior. Nature, in Darwinian terms, selects rabbits who run when the wolf approaches. But the selection is independent of why the rabbit runs. It may run because it believes that the wolf will kill it, or because it believes that the wolf wants to play tag, or because it is an unconscious automaton physically programmed to do so. True belief, false belief, or no belief—all that matters for survival is the running. Psychological Darwinists ask, "Why do men have the ability to discover that nightshade berries are poisonous?" and answer, "In order to survive!" But if a belief that nightshade berries are the property of the elves, or a dislike for the taste of nightshade berries, or a purely physical aversive reflex, would accomplish the same thing, then the Psychological Darwinist answer misses the point. It is like the question, "Why do firemen wear red suspenders?" If it is the color that we are asking about, then the traditional answer, "To hold their pants up!" is simply irrelevant.

Some persons, considering the great variety of complex situations which men encounter, and the ingenuity which they sometimes use in dealing with them, deny that it would be possible, even in principle, for any automaton to behave like that without accompanying and controlling conscious thought. (This is the analogue of arguing that no non-red suspenders can hold up pants. Behaviorists, in this parable, are color-blind.) I am accustomed to refer these persons to books such as R. Ashby's excellent *Design for a Brain: The Origin of Adaptive Behaviour*. Ashby's position on consciousness may be inferred from this quotation: "Throughout the book, consciousness and its related subjective elements are not used for the simple reason that at no point have I found their introduction necessary.... Such an observation... gives us no right to deduce that consciousness does not exist. The truth is quite otherwise, for the fact of the existence of consciousness is prior to all other facts."

Dean E. Wooldridge is also good—see his *The Machinery of the Brain* and his *Mechanical Man: The Physical Basis of Intelligent Life*. Robert Crim says that Darwinism can account for any *physical* structure in the human body. Just so. If all *physical* human behavior (which is what is relevant to biological survival) can be accounted for without reference to consciousness, then Psychological Darwinism is in ruins. I welcome the support of Reed and Crim on this major point.

I take it as obvious that if adaptive behavior does not require thoughts at all, then it does not require true thoughts.

Some persons object as follows: We know that man's mind is suited to the pursuit of truth. Nature could have made us otherwise, and still fit to survive, but she didn't. If you ask why she happened to give us reason rather than reflex as our primary tool of survival, I will shrug and say, "She flipped a coin." The whole question of Psychological Darwinism is a distraction, anyway. We don't need a theory of our origins from which we can infer the trustworthiness of our minds. The trustworthiness is an axiom!

To this I reply: It is true that we do not need to hold a theory that implies that our minds are trustworthy, but we do need to reject one that implies that they are not. Determinism, as Dr. Branden points out, is such a theory. That a man's belief's are determined does not imply that they are false. They may be true, just as answers provided by a coin (heads for "yes," tails for "no") may be true. But we assume, not that our beliefs happen to be right, but that they are trustworthy, that we have evidence about the nature of reality. A coin's answers to yes-no questions will sometimes be right, but will never be trustworthy, will never constitute evidence. If determinism is true, we may often have true beliefs, but can never have trustworthy ones. On these grounds, Dr. Branden, as I read him rejects determinism, and on the same grounds I reject Psychological Darwinism and other non-theistic accounts of the origin of man's mind. Those who have difficulty following the structure of my argument should study his. They are strict parallels.

I remind readers that my lectures are called *Objectivism and Theism*—that my argument is not that logical positivism implies theism, but that Objectivism implies theism. Those wishing to refute me must show where the parallel between my refutation of atheism and Dr. Branden's refutation of determinism breaks down—must find a flaw in my argument and show that it is not the analog of a flaw in his. (Those who think him wrong about determinism are not among those to whom my argument is primarily addressed.)

I am asked, "Who made God's mind?" Theists hold, of course, that God's mind, unlike human minds, is eternal and uncaused. For the most part, they also hold that all of reality is related to God in such a way that it is logically impossible for him to be mistaken about it, just as it is self-contradictory to say that a man falsely believes himself to exist, or to be thinking, or to be in pain. (The illusion of pain is a painful illusion.)

JAMES KIEFER
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A Word To Our Readers

■ As the result of egregious crypto-bureaucratic confusion, the "Suiten Fuer Violoncello Solo" was substituted for the Bach Magnificat in the June installment of "Introduction to Musical Listening." The Bach Magnificat is available on DG ARC-198197 and on Turnabout 34173. All of Dr. Hospers' superlatives in reference to the "Suiten" were meant, of course, for the Magnificat. Our apologies to Dr. Hospers and our readers.

■ In the book world things happen at a very rapid pace. Books come in and go out of print quickly and unexpectedly; prices change with ever increasing frequency. (And, unhappily, the changes are usually UP!) Thus our Back List, which appears in each *LR*, has changes made on it right up until our printer rolls his presses. So that we may give you the best possible service, please refer to the latest Back List when placing your order. Thanks.

■ COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) is an organization working to decriminalize the world's oldest profession. COYOTE welcomes the support of all (especially women) who believe that the sexual activities of consenting adults are not any of the State's business. Membership in COYOTE is $5 per year. If you want to fight the Mrs. Grundy State, write Margo St. James, Chairmadam, COYOTE, PO Box 26354, San Francisco, CA 94126; or call (415) 441-8118.

■ The *LR* Book Service is pleased to announce that we now have in stock the paperback edition of Robert Heinlein's *Time Enough for Love*. Consequently, we are discontinuing the hardback edition. The *LR* price for the paperback is $1.95.

■ Readers interested in Asian anarchist/libertarian activities and history will want to have a look at *Libero International*, a new bimonthly publication of CIRA-Nippon, a Japanese federation of "autonomous libertarian groups." The digest-size, English-language magazine covers, on a "fifty-fifty basis," current anarchist/libertarian activities in Japan, Korea, and China and "the facts about the energetic libertarian history of Asia." The first issue includes a biographical essay about Kotoku Shusui, the founder of modern Japanese anarchism, and articles about anarchism in China and Korea. Subscription information is available from *Libero International*, CPO Box 1065, Kobe, Japan 650-91.

■ From time to time, we learn of job opportunities with employers who are specifically seeking libertarian-inclined individuals. These range from clerk-typist jobs to foundation directors, from editorial positions to shipping clerks. Jobs in all sections of the country have come to our attention. In addition, LR on occasion has job openings, both full-time and part-time, in our Washington offices, which we would of course prefer to offer to qualified libertarians. If you are seeking work now, or plan to be in the future, and would like to send us a brief resume of your qualifications, we will hold it on file and attempt to match it with job opportunities as they come to our attention. All correspondence will be held in confidence, of course.

■ Things to Come: In September's Essay Review, Roger MacBride offers his thoughts on Nock's *Jefferson* and Dumas Malone's *The Story of the Declaration of Independence*. Also in the works are reviews by Susan Love Brown of *Race and Economics* by Thomas Sowell, *The Balancing Act* by George Roche, and *A Theory of Racial Harmony* by Alvin Rabushka—and Poul Anderson's reasoned consideration of Christopher Evans' *Cults of Unreason*.

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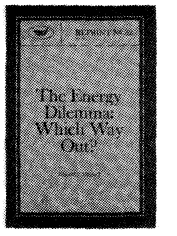

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